/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

/158 cont./

845 847 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

●853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

764 [766] A distinction is made between people who have died "well," that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

764 In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

761 People who have had a "good" death have died naturally; the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

766 If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

765 The women of the settlement participate in the widow's lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

!KUNG

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children: Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children: Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year affords no practical protection against a new conception.

The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others 867 cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
●853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826 until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224 237 272
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I remember now who I am."

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a [224 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [853]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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HUDDLING HABIT is noticeable again in this gathering of women and children at a !Kung *werft*. Well-ornamented child, *foreground*, is still at breast.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and development of their children and encourage them to continue until they are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explaining it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] [755] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, [845] if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] [847] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the 847 Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.